

Transcript of Address by Senator Church at the Democratic National Convention

Following is the transcript of the keynote address to the Democratic convention last night by Senator Frank Church of Idaho, as recorded by The New York Times:

Fellow Democrats and citizens of the United States:

A keynote speaker is often expected to perform like a cheerleader at a pep rally. But these are solemn times that summon us to reason together. We are Democrats, not because our party has always done everything right, but because it has been the principal party of progress. We face the future with assurance, because of the way our party has served the country in the past.

No other party, for example, has furnished the country with so many great Presidents—the author of our liberties, Thomas Jefferson; the framer of frontier freedom, Andrew Jackson; the sentinel of integrity in public office, Grover Cleveland; the scholarly architect of world order, Woodrow Wilson; the giant of humanitarian reform, Franklin Roosevelt, and that indomitable man of the people, Harry Truman!

Nearly everybody now acclaims the liberal reforms hammered out by the Democratic party against determined Republican opposition, just a few short years ago—the Social Security Act, to give an assured retirement income to our senior citizens; the Minimum Wage and Hour Laws by which menial wages have been upgraded to decent standards; the R.E.A., bringing electric light to the countryside of America, and the Federal housing programs, by which the bulk of our people have become the owners of their own homes.

I wish that time would permit a review of all of the great accomplishments of former Democratic Administrations. But the laurels of the past do not entitle us to the keys to the future. We will deserve to win the coming election, not on the basis of yesterday's service, but on account of the plans we present for today, and the programs we project for tomorrow. Therefore, I must speak to you tonight of the grave crisis that confronts us all.

An 'Awesome Age'

Ours is an awesome age. We live anxiously in the shadow of the mushroom cloud, and wonder whether the human race itself is to be consumed in the wildfire of thermonuclear war. We see the world in upheaval, polarized around two gigantic adversaries, the United States and the Soviet Union. At stake is the shape of the future.

For if the Soviet Union has been communism on exhibit, even more has the United States been the showcase of democracy. How urgent it has been for us to demonstrate to all the watching world that democracy has the will to serve vital public needs. How ironic that our national Administration should have fallen into the hands of the "hold-back" party, during times that beseeched us to push ahead.

For the heralded "crusade" of 1952 brought only complacency back to Washington. It was that familiar "keep-cool-with-coolidge" attitude of the Twenties; it was that "security-is-just-around-the-corner" attitude that prevented Herbert Hoover from ever coming to grips with the great depression. No sooner had the new Eisenhower "team" been installed than Madison Avenue eagerly took charge, and a barrage of bland ballyhoo soon filled the land. Like a drug, if you please, it has tranquilized our leadership for seven long years.

Now we must be done with the addition. We must seek candid answers to the hard questions: Where do we really stand? Where are we headed? What must we do about it?

We are told by the Republicans to be content, that they have done as much about our problems as we can afford, and that the present prosperity attests to their prudent management of our affairs.

Assails 'Hucksters'

But I ask you—do we have a wholesome prosperity? I submit it is a pitch-man prosperity of the kind that naturally results when Government is run by hucksters not unaccustomed to selling inferior products by wrapping them in bright packages.

It is no accident that big business profits are higher than ever, or that small business is failing at a record rate. The Republicans say that this is due to the immutable law of "the survival of the fittest." Well, the fittest are the biggest, as anyone knows who has ever been in a good alley fight. If small business wants to survive, if small business doesn't want to get licked, it had better stay out of the alley! In any case, according to the Republican rule-book it is "paternalism" for the Government to intervene as referee.

Who pays for this pitch-man prosperity? Who suffers from it? Not just the small business, but the farmer as well.

This Administration in dealing with the farm has treated the American people like the fabled blind men from India who went to see the elephant. One of them felt his side and thought it like a wall; one felt his tail and thought it like a rope; one its ear and thought it like a fan: And so these men of

Indostan

Disputed loud and long,



KEYNOTER: Senator Frank Church of Idaho delivers keynote speech at the convention

Though each was partly in the right, And all were in the wrong!

To the farmers this Administration has said: "Price supports have induced you to overproduce. We will lower them. Less food will mean higher prices, and this will make you prosperous."

To the consumer, they have said: "We are reducing farmers' price supports and lifting acreage limitations. This will mean more food at cheaper prices in the marketplace for all who buy their groceries."

And to all of us who are taxpayers, they have said: "We are paring down the farm program to save you taxes."

Food Cost Rise Cited

With such conflicting arguments this Administration won approval in 1954 from a Republican Congress of its flexible price control formula. And with the veto that program has been kept alive ever since. With the same arguments, the program is still being defended, despite all of the accumulated evidence against it.

Has it helped the consumer? The housewife will tell you that groceries are higher than ever.

Has it helped the taxpayer? Why this Administration has spent more money on its farm program than all of the previous Administrations combined since the establishment of the Department of Agriculture in 1861! Instead of declining, our farm surpluses have grown mammoth. Just to maintain them now costs us more than a billion dollars a year. For some of those who own storage bins, this may be the road to riches, but for the farmer, it's been the road to ruin.

Farm income has declined 23 per cent since 1952, while farm costs have continued to go up in a squeeze that has driven some five million people off the farms. We Democrats reject the proposition that the family farm is finished. We believe that the farmer is entitled to a fair return on the food and fiber he produces and no prosperity is genuine that excludes him.

Yet those who pay for this pitch-man prosperity are not confined to the farmers and small business men. Workingmen pay for it. Elderly people on pensions pay for it. Everyone who must borrow pays for it. The cost is exacted in higher interest rates.

You know, I swear that Rip Van Winkle have gone to sleep at any time in the century past and upon awakening could readily have gone to sleep at any time in the century past and upon awakening could readily have determined which party was in control in Washington merely by asking, "How high are the interest rates?" And if they were 'way up there by the arc lamps near the ceiling, he could bet his life that the Republicans had taken over in Washington.

For, my friends, one of the first acts of this Administration was to increase interest rates, a policy that has already cost the taxpayers of this country some twelve billion dollars just to pay the added interest on the Federal debt alone. Imagine what the added tax has been on money borrowed by the states and the cities and the school districts of this land.

But even this is not all. Pile on top of it the staggering amount that's been paid out in added interest rates by every person who has had to purchase his TV set or his automobile or his refrigerator on the installment plan, and you begin to understand how spiraling inflation rates have intensified this inflation and driven the cost of living to an all-time high.

Hits 'Tight Money' Policy

The fact is that the "tight money" policies of this Administration have sapped our economic vitality and shackled our economic growth. Just compare these last seven years under the Republicans with the previous seven years under the Democrats. During the Truman Administration, our gross national product increased on the average of 4.7 per cent each year. Under the Eisenhower Administration it has increased only 2.3 per cent, less than half as much. And if you take into

account our expanding population, the per capita rate of growth under the Democrats was four times as high as it has been under the Republicans.

Indeed, our economic vigor has been sapped to the point that urgent public needs here at home have been left untreated like festering sores.

Private slums spread in the rotting cores of our big cities, yet our urban renewal and public housing programs are "too little and too late." Private automobiles are congested in hopeless traffic jams, while public transportation for lack of funds lags twenty years behind our needs. Private dissipation flourishes while public education flounders. The schoolroom shortage has not been met and we continue to spend more money on liquor and on alcohol than on public schools. To sweeten private life, our stores display a billion bottles of deodorant, and yet a modest public bill to reduce the stench from our polluted public rivers was vetoed and the urban air, thickening with contamination, begins to threaten the public health.

We have cared so much about "conspicuous consumption" that many of our lives are cluttered with gadgets. Yet we have cared so little about our public responsibilities that both old and young have been neglected. Gangs of switchblade delinquents haunt the public streets, and the lack of an adequate medical care program for the aged is fast becoming a national disgrace.

A 'Modern Babylon'

What does all this portend for America? Are we to become a modern Babylon of public want amidst private glut? Is this to be the last part of call for the great American Republic? Well, this has been the direction of our course under this Republican Administration.

I say to you: The issue in this coming election is not Dwight Eisenhower, whether the "strong" or the "weak";

it is not Richard Nixon, whether the "old" or the "new"; the issue is our country's course—whether we can afford another four-year ride on the Republican train.

For it's the same old train; whoever sits in the cab up front can't change the direction of the ride. The train runs on Republican tracks, and they are fixed in place. To change direction, we must change trains, and that's just what the American people plan to do this November!

What will be our new direction? Well, let's look at what the Democrats in Congress have accomplished despite the veto and the threat of veto these past few years.

We have advanced the cause of public health through enlarged appropriations for vital research against cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis, and a host of other ailments.

We have kept faith with our forefathers by embracing within the Federal Union after forty years of resistance Alaska and Hawaii as our forty-ninth and fiftieth states.

We have broken a stalemate in the fight for full equality under law by passing the first civil rights legislation in eighty years. Much remains to be done, but it is already clear that the Democratic party is dealing most effectively with the lingering problem of racial intolerance, even as the Democratic party has rejected religious bigotry. We're proud to count in the forefront of our contenders for the Presidency itself, both Protestant and Catholic alike! And I might say no other party can make that statement.

But in other fields, the work of the Democratic Congress has been blocked by the Republican veto. In the field of continued development of our water resources—so important to my own state of Idaho, and the future of the whole country—the Republican Cabinet is divided. One half wants "no new starts," the other half demands "more new stops!" Four times in four years, rivers and harbors bills have been vetoed.

Twice the Congress has tried to give aid to depressed areas of chronic unemployment and twice the bills have been vetoed. Twice, we have seen adequate public housing programs cut below our minimum needs because of veto. And Congress again and again has been frustrated in its efforts to deal with the worsening farm problem for five major farm bills have been vetoed since 1956.

If only there had been a Democratic President in the White House these past seven Republican years, and we had continued to enjoy the same rate of economic growth that we enjoyed during the previous seven Democratic years, there would have been plenty of money to enact all of these programs into law, plus urban renewal and school construction besides, without deficit spending, and without having

to raise the level of Federal taxes.

This is why the American people are determined to put an end to divided government. Not only are they going to re-elect a Democratic Congress in November, but they're going to see to it that the man we nominate in this convention becomes the next President of the United States!

We must make the change. Our problems at home demand it, our predicament abroad compels it.

The President and his representatives under the Constitution conduct American foreign policy. For over seven years they have staged it as though the world were a big grandstand where showmanship could be made the easy substitute for statesmanship.

It all got started back in 1952 when candidate Eisenhower stamped the election with pledge "I will go to Korea." Now we're out for the nimble Mr. Nixon in the turn of recent events he may seek to win the coming election with the promise "I will go to Japan." Before it's too late we must begin to view the world realistically.

Earth a 'Shrunken Planet'

We live on a shrunken planet where the prevailing order of the past three centuries has been destroyed. New nations rise from the wreckage of old empires, so that our world, like ancient Gaul, lies divided in three parts; one part consists of the Western countries led by the United States; one part of the Communist countries dominated by the Soviet Union; and the third part of the newly emerging nations in the old colonial areas of Africa, Asia, and the Southern Seas.

These underdeveloped and uncommitted countries constitute the "no-man's-lands" on which the fate of the human race will be determined. For if the continents of Asia and Africa are drawn behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains the economy of Western Europe is at once undermined. And if we yield to the Communists the continents of Africa, Asia and Europe, the balance of power in the world fatally shifts against us thus assuring eventual Communist dominion of all the world.

Two ways of life—communism and freedom—are thus locked in a mortal competition. Until the debris from the broken Summit Conference in Paris has been cleared, until the tumult that turned the President back from Tokyo has been better understood, we cannot know for sure what form this competition will take. But this we do know. We will either win it or lose it. There is no way out of it. History's verdict will be rendered. The days of our years will determine whether freedom shall endure.

Accordingly, we must inquire: "How have the Communists been doing in this dire contest?"

A few months ago my wife and I stood in a long line that moved slowly across the Red Square in Moscow, and into the marble mausoleum that stands beneath the Kremlin wall. We went there to see the mortal remains of Lenin and Stalin, stretched out upon their beds of bronze. This mausoleum is the pagan cathedral of world communism and the comrades come there three and four abreast in a never-ending procession.

It is the same process that emerged out of the ruin of Russia at the end of the second World War to thrust up the red empire—the only new empire to be created in the twentieth century. Now it engulfs all of Eastern Europe and vast China, and embraces a third of the world's people in its spreading reach. Everywhere its method has been conquest—either from within or from without; in no Communist country have the people ever been permitted to freely vote the soviet in; and in no such country have they ever been given the chance to freely vote it out.

Now the tyranny spreads, invading the Middle East, and planting its seed in restless Africa.

I have listened to Nikita

Khrushchev behind the closed doors of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I have heard his certain prediction that communism would win history's verdict. He has boasted that although we may be free men, our grandchildren will be Communists.

Is this an idle boast? They have conquered a third of the world in fifteen years. History nowhere records another conquest so large in so short a time. I submit to you that the fateful decisions taken in Washington today and tomorrow will determine whether or not our grandchildren shall be free.

These are the grave stakes



CONVENTION SCENE: Audience standing last night during invocation in the Los Angeles Memorial Sports Arena

implement an imaginative "Food for Peace" program, this Administration has wrongfully permitted the ugly image to spread of a fat America hoarding food in a hungry world.

Sees Scientific Lag

But our prestige has been damaged in still another way. We live in an age of science, where men tend to equate national excellence with technological achievement. In such a competition, how could the United States—the most advanced industrial and technical nation in history—possibly stumble and fall behind? Well under the Republicans, we've done it!

Somehow we've lost and have yet to recapture the initiative in space. The Russians were the first to launch a satellite, the first to photograph the far side of the moon, the first to orbit the sun. So effectively have these feats been dramatized that our own public relations experts tell us that the average citizen in the world today believes that the Soviet Union has overtaken the United States as the leading scientific country of the world. Don't ever underestimate the effect of this in primitive lands where the promise of modern science alone seems to hold out hope for a better life in the years ahead.

So we are left with the final question: What has happened to American power?

As long as the Chinese and Russian governments are determined to live by the sword, our military strength must be second to none. We understand that arms alone will never perpetuate the peace, but can only buy us time with which to supplant the rule of force among nations with the rule of law.

Yet it must be clear by now that if this objective is ever to be won, if nuclear weapons tests are ever to be suspended, if "open skies" for the prevention of surprise attack are ever to be achieved, if arms control is ever to commence, these complicated matters will be worked out—not at ceremonial summit conferences—but through long, skillful and painstaking negotiations. And at the conference table our chances for success will depend upon our ability to negotiate, not from weakness, but from strength.

What has happened to American strength? Our Army has shrunk from twenty to fourteen divisions. Our Navy has lost scores of fighting ships. We concede to the Russians superior numbers in the intercontinental ballistic missile we ourselves describe as "the ultimate weapon." Still, this Administration tells us we need not match the Russians in missile strength, for this would impose too heavy a burden upon us.

Is it possible, my friends, that this the richest nation in history can no longer afford to be the strongest?

In these many ways, we have watched our country shrink in stature only to be told that Mr. Nixon, the single aspirant in either party, who upholds the very policies that have led us into fiasco, is the man best qualified to lead us out!

Quotes T. Roosevelt

Well, the American people won't be fooled. Remembering the famous admonition of Theodore Roosevelt, "Speak softly but carry a big stick," they're not about to substitute, "Talk tough and carry a footpick!"

They know that scowls will never scuttle the Communist thrust; that this can be accomplished only through a mighty striving to revive American principle, to restore American prestige and to rebuild American power.

I shall never forget the words of a Polish lady, spoken to me on the square of the inner city of old Warsaw less than a year ago. She spoke with a perspicacity and a wisdom forged in nearly a century of life. She put her hand in mine and she said: "Senator, America is truly the hope of the world."

It is the American revolution—not the Russian—that has been an inspiration to all men who would be free. It is the American technological revolution—not the touted class struggle—that has created here in the United States the world's most classless society.

It is the American technological revolution—not the proletarian state—that has achieved here in the United States a standard of living which is the marvel of the world.

Nominate a man who will summon this priceless heritage to work. Give us a leader whose program will match the dimensions of this atomic age and the Democratic party—true to its tradition—will lift this country once again on the high road of destiny.

For only an awakened and rededicated America can ever raise that standard around which the great fraternity of the free can rally, to summon from a new-found unity the resolution and the strength to make history's verdict ours.

This is the message for all America that the Democratic party must carry to the people.

God help us to plead it well!

Thank you.